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of roasting or squashing him in some symbolic guise. It is not necessary to burn him like Guy Fawkes in a life-size effigy. Anything, however small and insignificant, that will serve to typify the victim will serve also as an object upon which the emotion of the sorcerer may spend itself. In the manual procedure of magic, which is in origin a representation of the hoped-for result, the importance of such symbols will be evident, and we may devote some attention to them. In fact the concept of spontaneous magic which we have so far formed may be more clearly expressed as 'the *symbolic* representation of a hoped-for result'. The real subjects and objects which would participate in the hoped-for result are represented by symbols in the imaginary forecast. And this forecast may appear very fragmentary, simply reproducing one or two salient factors. Furthermore, the association which justifies the symbol may be astonishingly remote.

An example will show how flimsy may be the structure of the magical representation. There was a youth of Wasida who paid court to a girl of the neighbourhood but was rejected in favour of a rival. The young man did not accept his disappointment as a philosopher should, but determined to bide his time and be revenged. Now there is a certain blue berry in the bush which is remarkable for the fact that it grows always two by two together. The disappointed suitor secretly obtained a pair of these twin berries, crushed them together with some lime, and decorated his face with the resultant pigment—a stripe on either cheek. Now he makes it his business to encounter the girl (who is by this time securely married to the other party). All unsuspecting she looks at his face and observes the two streaks of paint. Nothing is said, but the young man, satisfied with the mere glance, retires to the seclusion of the bush, scrapes the berry pigment off his cheeks, wraps it in a leaf, and stuffs it into a hole in one of the large bulging ants' nests called *siribo*. Now secure of his revenge he watches the young wife. He observes with satisfaction the gradual and finally

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tremendous swelling of her figure. Her time comes, and, to her untold chagrin and his untold gratification, she is delivered of twins. His vengeance is complete.

In this case we may recognize at least two symbols, the twin berries standing for the twins, and the bulging *siribo* for the aggravated tumescence of the woman's pregnancy. In both of them, it would appear, their symbolic character rests upon a point of resemblance. The association is one of similarity, and the symbol might be called for short a Similarity Symbol. This is by no means to assume that the native attaches any causal value to the association, or that he is even conscious of it. Least of all can he be conscious of 'association' in the abstract. Indeed, it is only when he is taxed for an explanation that he may fall back on the Law of Similarity. In the case just cited it may well be that the whole process is an *ex post facto* fabrication. (This is more likely than the other possibility, viz. that it was a marvellous fluke.) But whether the process was ever really tried or not, it will serve to illustrate the nature of the Similarity Symbol.

Of such association there are innumerable examples. The hibiscus was a component of a mixture used in hunting-magic because, I was told, its scarlet was like the fresh blood of the pig. The root of a variety of bread-fruit was used in sun-magic because it resembled the sun simply in its red-yellow colour. The crab's claw was a suitable receptacle for the sorcerer's mixture in that it would cause the victim to crawl and grovel like a crab. Mere size is itself sufficient to make a symbol of any object where size is the quality aimed at in the desired result. This, according to native explanation, is the reason why the leaf of a towering *Boruga* tree may be planted in the same hole with the taro shoot: the taro will become a big plant because the *Boruga* is a big tree. The same reason was given for the use of *Jijuma* and *Buru* as medicines for the growing pig. A woman may be seen washing a squealing piglet with an infusion of the leaves of these